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AN ANTHROPOLOGIST EXAMINES THE NAVY'S RECRUITING PROCESS.(U)
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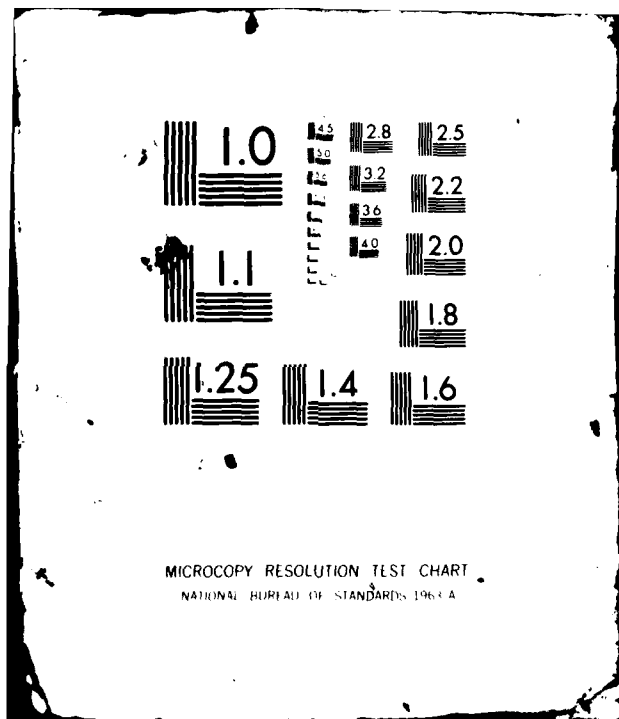
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PERSONNEL TECHNOLOGY

AN EXAMINATION OF HISPANIC AND GENERAL POPULATION
PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
(Harry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator)



DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
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AN ANTHROPOLOGIST EXAMINES THE NAVY'S
RECRUITING PROCESS

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Observations and interviews with both Navy personnel and recruits, at the recruiting centers of San Antonio, TX, Miami, FL, Chicago, IL, New York, NY, and Albuquerque, NM, resulted in a description of the Navy recruit- ment process. Only one out of five Hispanic potential recruits is enlisted in the Navy. The major barrier to enlistment is inadequate academic		

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Foreword

This study is part of a larger project attempting to understand the cultural characteristics of Hispanics in the United States. This ethnic group is numerically important, since in about ten years it is likely to constitute more than ten percent of the population of the U.S. The Navy is currently recruiting only one out of five Hispanic applicants, and only three percent of the Navy personnel have this kind of ethnic background. Furthermore, re-enlistment rates are low. It is hoped that improved understanding of Hispanic culture will improve the Navy's personnel policies. The larger project includes three major strategies of data collection. Two are utilizing approaches developed by psychologists; the third one uses anthropological approaches. The present study uses an anthropological approach.

The study involves extensive interviews with both Navy recruiting personnel and prospective Navy recruits in Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, New Mexico and California. Special emphasis is placed on regions of the United States in which a major portion of the population is of Hispanic cultural origin. The other segments of the anthropological studies will be reported in the future, and will examine the basic training of the Recruit Training Command, San Diego, CA and the social behavior of Hispanics and the Mainstream on an aircraft carrier during an extended sea deployment.

The bases of the present report are primarily observations and conversations between Louis Rojas, a Hispanic anthropologist (Ph.D., 1981, from Johns Hopkins) and Hispanic prospective Navy recruits, as well as Navy recruiting personnel. The anthropological method consists of intensive observations with key informants. Such informants can give reliable information of high validity. For example, Campbell (1955) showed, in a study of morale in ten submarine crews, that the rankings of the crews on morale made by land-based informants at the squadron headquarters correlated .9 with rankings resulting from an anonymous morale questionnaire filled out by all crew members. Thus, informants can be seen as "experts" who can give information that can sometimes be shown to

be valid by subsequent scientific investigations.

In the present study we have not validated the findings. However, given the excellent training of the investigator, the considerable cooperation he has received from Navy recruiting personnel, the extent to which many of his fellow Hispanics have discussed their secrets with him (revealing information about previous crimes, use of drugs, etc.) it seems reasonable to assume that the information is dependable and valid.

The recommendations of the study appear useful and important. I feel that the idea of "career consultants" is particularly valuable and may be a method of increasing re-enlistment rates not only for Hispanics but for all Navy personnel. After all, a poor job placement is likely to have important implications for both performance and re-enlistment. In industry experiments in which applicants were shown the actual job indicated that this resulted in reduced turnover. Such information hangs well together with Rojas' arguments suggesting that this recommendation is valuable.

Harry C. Triandis

Principal Investigator

Reference

Campbell, D. T. The informant in quantitative research. American Journal of Sociology, 1955, 60, 339-342.

This report summarizes the findings of the initial phase of an anthropological study of American Hispanic perceptions of, and roles in, the United States Navy.

Within the initial phase of the study, selection of the research locales followed the organizational structure of the Navy's Recruiting Command. The United States is divided into eight major Recruiting Areas, each of which is further divided into several Navy Recruiting Districts (NRD). Each NRD has a headquarters, located usually in the major city within the District; the District is then divided into recruiting zones which coincide with one or several adjacent Postal Service zip code zones.

The NRD is the highest organizational level at which the current research was conducted. Interviews and observations involved the NRD Commanding Officer (usually of Captain's rank), the Executive Officer (usually at the Lt. Commander rank), Lieutenants directing specialized officer recruiting programs within the District, and several advanced Petty Officers (of the Chief, Senior, or Master grades) normally involved in the administration of particular aspects of enlisted recruiting. Each zone within the NRD contains one to three recruiting stations, manned by one to five petty officers (usually of 2nd or 1st class grades) and occasionally by a chief petty officer. Each NRD also has several civilian staff members concerned, for example, with local advertising methods or with educational evaluations.

Interviews in each District were conducted among the Commanding Officers, the Chief Recruiter (an advanced Petty Officer), and the staff recruiters in specified recruiting stations, selected in each case on the basis of their location in predominantly Hispanic towns or city neighborhoods. The researcher was also able to speak, in most stations, with several prospective recruits or individuals who had already contracted to enlist in the Navy on the Delayed Entry Program (DEPpers). Finally, interviews were conducted among personnel and prospectives at the Armed Forces Entrance Examination Station (AFEES) in the NRDs.

The researcher wishes to express gratitude for the special cooperation of the officers and staff of the NRDs in Albuquerque, San Antonio, Miami, Chicago, New York City, San Diego and Los Angeles areas. Particular appreciation is due Commander Kenneth Johnson and Lieutenant Del Cruz of the Office of Minority Affairs, CRUITCOM, Arlington, Virginia.

Introduction

Hispanic (Spanish surnamed and/or Spanish speaking) populations of the United States have been growing extremely rapidly [see Triandis (1981), Lisansky (1981), Salas et al. (1980), and Turner (1980)]. Within the U.S. Navy however, the proportion of Hispanic enlisted personnel (male and female) is not nearly representative of the overall American demographic mix. Recent estimates suggest a possible nationwide population distribution approaching 14.6 million (about 7 percent of the U.S. population) Hispanic, while estimates of enlisted Hispanics within the Navy are no greater than 3 percent. The figures for Hispanic commissioned officers is approximately 0.5 percent of the officer ranks. Perhaps more significant--certainly from the perspective of a Navy which must seek a more efficient and cost-effective use of its personnel--is the extremely low incidence of re-enlistment of Hispanic sailors (at the E-3 grade) and lower-grade petty officers (E-4 through E-6) levels, some of whom have acquired relatively expensive and time-consuming technical training during much of their service tour.

What is at stake, then, in practical terms, is the Navy's desire and ability to gain access to a growing, yet usually culturally non-mainstream "market" of young Hispanic personnel and talent. Also at stake is the Navy's ability to effectively attract Hispanic re-enlistments through policies which are somehow responsive to the cultural factors which characterize this group and which condition their propensity for successful military service.

The Navy recognizes the demographic importance of these Hispanic groups, and it also is becoming aware that the effective "prospecting" of this population and talent will require an enhanced alertness for, and sensitivity to, the social, economic, historical, and cultural variables which make these ethnic enclaves distinct from the mainstream American population.

It is the purpose of this anthropological inquiry to supply a description of the articulation of the Hispanic communities of North America, on the one hand, and the relevant organizational environments of the Navy, on the other. Beyond

this, the research attempts to offer some practical interpretation of the most significant cultural factors which characterize the Spanish-speaking communities and which contribute to both their cultural tenacity and behavioral flexibility.

In this investigation what is crucial to the social scientist, per se, and what serves to inform the Navy's more practical concerns, is the realization that the so-called "Hispanic" culture of North America is actually a collection of several relatively unique Hispano- or Latino-based social histories. One of the goals of the long-range anthropological research is to come to some conclusions about the ways in which, or the degrees to which, the Hispanics of California, for example, are different from those of other parts of the country (e.g. San Antonio, Chicago, Miami, or New York City). In other words, to what extent are we, as social scientists, or as Navy personnel policy-makers, able to generalize about the lives or military service potential of Hispanics across the country? Conversely, at what point should we cease to pursue "cultural minutiae" which may be historically interesting, but are not essential to the assessment of the potential and performance of a Spanish-surnamed individual within a particular kind of institutional environment?

Statement of the Basic Practical Problem

In practical terms, the Navy seems unable to attract enough Hispanics into its enlisted (and officer) ranks; and those Hispanics who do enlist rarely re-enlist after their initial four-year tour of duty. Why is this the case?

There is an important clarification to be made at the outset. There is a very widely-held notion, apparent at most levels of Navy and Department of Defense organizations, which maintains that there are simply not enough minority individuals (in this case Hispanics) who have an adequate awareness of the Navy institution, its programs, benefits, requirements and demands. The idea is held that Hispanics, for a variety of geographical, political, and cultural reasons, are simply not interested in the Navy as a form of employment or as

a means for career preparation. Hispanics, it is often observed, are not able to seriously consider the Navy. Or, perhaps, they choose not to consider it. This notion is not in close accordance with information gathered in the present research. In fact, for every Hispanic recruit enlistment contract there are generally several other Hispanics who have responded to a recruiting "outreach" program, or who have independently made inquiries about Navy service, but who have been rejected as militarily unqualified. For reasons which will be explored in this report, the real problem in the Navy's recruiting of Hispanics is that of locating and attracting individuals who meet the rather stringent (relative to the other services) mental, physical, and moral qualifications.

Description of the Recruitment Process

It may be useful to frame the issues in terms of the recruiting process, the roles of the recruiters, the stages of the process, and the kinds of situations or misperceptions (on the parts of the Navy and the prospective recruit) which might serve as barriers to successful recruitment of the Hispanic.

The Navy Recruiter and the Recruiting Station

It must be kept in mind that the recruiter himself is placed under rather strident pressure to meet his assigned monthly recruiting goal. Generally an experienced recruiter is expected to contact, interview, pre-test, and send enough prospective recruits to the District's Armed Forces Entrance Examination Station (AFEES)* to result in four enlistment contracts for immediate assignment to a basic training center. Delayed Entry Program contracts usually are not credited toward the fulfilment of a monthly goal.

*The AFEES (described in more detail in Section IX) is the primary locale for applicant processing within the recruiting district. It is a large facility, staffed by testing, medical, and counseling personnel from all branches of the military services. On a given day, it is not uncommon that two hundred individuals will be evaluated for their military qualifications and availability.

To attain this goal a recruiter will need to approach and interview a significantly larger number of prospectives. For a variety of reasons to be outlined later in this report, most recruiters must interview and pre-test approximately three Hispanics in order to send one apparently qualified individual to AFEES. Further, the ratio of prospectives sent to AFEES to eventual enlistment contracts is roughly 1.8 to 1, for Hispanics, in most of the regions here studied. Hence, in order to enlist one Hispanic individual the recruiter in most of the regions under study--though there is some variation--must initially contact approximately five individuals. (Recruiters indicate that the ratios in the recruitment of Blacks are greater, while the ratios in White/Anglo recruitment are generally closer to 3 to 1.)

While each of the NRDs visited do have specified sub-goals for the recruitment of Hispanics in the district as a whole, few of the separate stations have assigned minority goals. It is generally assumed that those stations located in predominantly Hispanic (or other minority) communities will, over several months' time, produce a representative number of Hispanic enlistments. Obviously there are some stations (for example those in the Bronx of New York City) which recruit almost exclusively Blacks and Hispanics; others (for example those in Corpus Christi) which only rarely attract Hispanics even though they are located in a largely Hispanic community.

Recruiters are always minimally of the petty officer 3rd class rank, and most are petty officers of 2nd and 1st class grade. Chief and Senior petty officers may do some recruiting, but are usually involved in administrative tasks of the recruiting zone or the NRD headquarters.

Not many of the recruiters interviewed had specifically selected a tour of duty in CRUITCOM. Rather, they usually had requested a tour of duty on land, or near their community of origin. The recruiting assignment, therefore, was often a by-product of meeting the land- or home-duty request. As a result, many of the recruiters were less than enthusiastic about, or committed to, this kind

of work. But nearly all recognized it as a military assignment and therefore pursued it diligently.

In preparation for this assignment the recruiters attend a four-week training course at the Naval Training Center in Orlando, Florida. The training includes familiarization with the personnel needs of the Navy, with the variety and nature of the Navy's training and duty ratings, and with the technical and psychological aspects of "marketing" and "selling" the Navy. The "salesmanship" metaphor is taken quite literally in the training, and all recruiters seem quite well versed, and consistent, in discussions concerning their role as Navy "sales representatives."

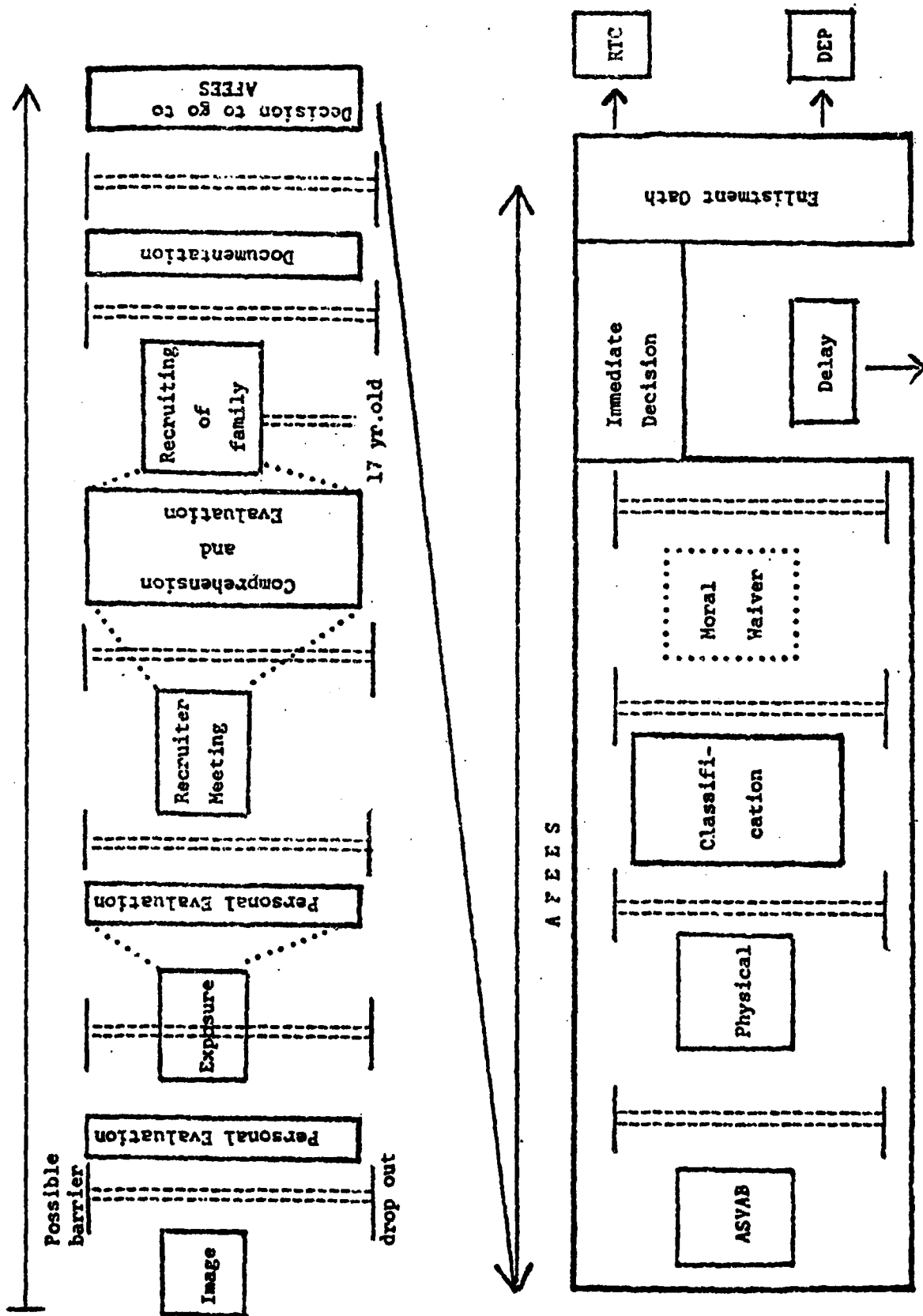
The Details of the Recruitment Process

What follows is a general model, which reflects what we perceive as the cognitive and practical stages through which an individual (of any cultural background) must proceed in order to enlist. Where appropriate, factors relevant to the Hispanic individual passing through the process are outlined. Figure 1 is a diagrammatic expression of the process.

I. Image. The image is a collection of conscious and semi-conscious attitudes toward the military in general, and a comparison of the Navy to the other services in terms of reputations for beneficial opportunities, disadvantages, inconveniences, pay scale, bonuses, vacations, severity of discipline, length of service obligation, promotions, style of uniform, and so forth. Image is a product of parental attitudes, peer-group perspectives, social and political consciousness, familial experience in the military services, and contact with military or Navy personnel within the community.

Among the Hispanics interviewed in this research, the most significant concerns were those of salary, length of service-time away from home, and treatment of people who did not speak English fluently. Many want to know if being in the Navy prohibits them from getting married. Images of intense sexual

Figure 1. The Recruitment Process



activity seem particularly important. Most Hispanics maintain only vague images of the nature or content of the Navy's special technical schools. Few are able to articulate a specific training interest, or clearly envision its significance later in their life.

Several prospectives indicated that machismo is not an important idea in their lives, and that the Navy is certainly not as tough and "macho" as the Army or the Marines. Some said that it seems a good place for "masculinity"; a good place to learn "discipline" and "dignified responsibility."

II. Exposure. Here we refer to individual and collective responses to the Navy's "prospecting." The Navy's outreach programs include national and local advertisements in published, visual, and audio media, billboards, and flyers. The Navy's day-or-night toll-free phone number is visible in most towns and cities; respondents' information is funneled to the recruiter in the area of the telephoner's home address. Most recruiting stations are located in high-traffic areas (in shopping malls, for instance) and are usually adjacent to the recruiting stations of the other services. Recruiters are usually quite careful of their uniformed appearance, realizing that some applicants respond favorably to the style and bearing that a uniform can impart to its wearer.

The most important means of exposure to the Navy are through personal contacts made by the recruiter on the basis of (1) the toll-free inquiry system, (2) the referral of an acquaintance, (3) high school "career day" presentations by recruiters, and (4) high school ASVAB testing. Of these, the recruiters find that the referral by a friend--supposedly a like-minded peer--is the most productive means of exposure and contact. It appears the cooperation of public, private, and parochial schools has declined, so that in many communities the military services are not invited to "career day" sessions. Likewise, it appears that fewer high schools are permitting the administration of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) to the juniors and seniors.

Nevertheless, when the ASVAB can be administered and the results made available, the Navy (and the other services) has a highly informative guide to individuals who might be Qualified Military Available (QMA) within the following months; hence, the recruiters try to make contact with these potential applicants during their final year of high school education.

All recruiters in all Districts are consistent in their disregard for the "walk-in" applicant. As several recruiters noted, "The walk-in is shopping. He's rarely qualified, and he's probably desperate; he's probably already been to the other services and has been turned away. We're normally better off if we stay away from these guys."

Probably the most obvious consideration relevant to the Navy exposure to the Hispanic is the fact that there is a high rate of high school dropouts among Hispanics in all regions except Cuban Miami. Therefore, Navy school visits and ASVAB testing often miss them.

NRD staff mention that they are very limited in the amount and kind of locally-targeted advertising they can do. They suggested that much of the nationally oriented Navy advertising only marginally reaches the Hispanic population. As one staff member in Albuquerque observed, "The ads in Time and Newsweek are basically wasted. To be effective, we need to be able to place an appropriately designed ad aimed at the mechanically minded kid who reads 'Low-rider' magazine."

III. Evaluation. This first stage of evaluation of the Navy by a potential recruit should be understood as an on-going process which certainly preceeds a specific investigation of the Navy possibilities. But the content and intensity of this evaluation are markedly heightened after a specific encounter with Navy advertising, a recruiter, or a friend who is also weighing lifestyle alternatives. This evaluation is basically an assessment of one's personal situation: Employed or unemployed? Quality of present job. Prospects for improvement in work position and salary? Education and educational potential

are considered: High school or Equivalency diploma? Academic and financial possibilities for continued formal education? Civil conduct status is assessed: Police record? Criminal behavior? Trouble with peers? Social and economic status of the nuclear family: What responsibility does the individual feel for supporting that family? Or how strongly does he feel about ceasing to be dependent upon the family? He must consider the status of significant-others: Are his friends near by, gone, in "trouble," or pursuing a stable career or training? Importantly, what is the status of his/her relationship with a girl friend/boy friend (potential mate), or spouse?

IV. Meeting with Recruiter. Most recruiters are extremely conscious of the need to be honest and accurate with the prospective recruit. Initial introductions and banter are casual and usually relaxed. The recruiter must immediately acquire a good deal of basic information and personal data about the prospective. He has a series of official forms on which this information is recorded and these become part of a permanent record. Normally the recruiter will attempt to encourage the applicant to articulate his reasons for looking at the Navy. Most stations have small video-cassette systems for some introductory films concerning Navy life in general, or pertaining to specific Navy programs. The recruiter asks the prospective if he has time to take the Early Screening Test (EST), an examination which is a timed (though shortened: 45 minutes) version of the ASVAB, and which tests word knowledge, reading comprehension, arithmetic skills, and, in some versions, space perception. The recruiter can score the EST immediately and on the basis of the score make some tentative evaluation of the prospective's educational level or intellectual aptitude. If the score is low the recruiter may continue to offer some encouragement by describing some of the non-technical fields in the Navy (fireman, seaman, airman), and by suggesting that the applicant try taking the EST again in a few months, hopefully after working on some of his academic skills. If the EST scores are moderate the recruiter will often be quite thorough in his

description of Navy life and career benefits. But most importantly the recruiter will attempt to have the applicant make a commitment to travel to the District AFEES for official ASVAB testing, physical examination, official rating classification, and, ideally, for enlistment. Navy transportation to AFEES is provided. Because the recruiter is under pressure to produce enlistable individuals at AFEES, there is always a little-concealed pressure on the prospective to go to AFEES as soon as possible. For the applicant who has scored high on the EST, the encouragement and insistence for pursuing the process is multiplied.

Age and educational limitations are discussed. The few remedial education programs offered by the Navy (in the Recruit Training Center) are explored as possible ways of gaining a high school diploma. College credit programs are outlined. The need for certain kinds of personal and residence documentation is explained. For applicants under 18 years of age, parental consent must be obtained for enlistment.

Recruits are, of course, encouraged to ask questions during this encounter, but it seems generally the case that Hispanics are reluctant to probe the Navy systematically due to unfamiliarity with the Navy organization, and lifestyle. Possible uneasiness with an Anglo recruiter who is perceived as intimidating, or a limited understanding of what the complex system of career ratings actually means within the Navy context and actually portends for him once back in the civilian world, also curtail inquisitiveness.

Admittedly the training and career ratings in the Navy are many and complicated, but it seems that this juncture in the process contains the first critical break-down in the communication with the Hispanic prospective. Most Hispanics can only begin to imagine what distinguishes a job in the Ordnance Group from a job in Engineering & Hull Group. Even when the distinctions are briefly explained, it is nearly impossible to keep track of the finer distinctions between, for example, an Electronic Warfare Technician and an

Aviation Electronics Technician. Indeed, for many Hispanics these distinctions are not immediately important or relevant, but the sense of complexity and confusion - resulting in no small way from the inevitable Navy jargon incorporated into the recruiter's presentation, and from the absence of a cognitive network into which this information can be usefully placed - can be intimidating to the point of discouraging continued processing.

Often the prospective will promise to travel to the AFEES, but then will fail to do so on his assigned test date.

V. Comprehension and Evaluation. Only a few prospectives (of any cultural background) are willing to immediately travel to the AFEES. Most - and particularly Hispanics - need and insist upon time - days or weeks - to think about the new information they have acquired. The Hispanics, regardless of whether they are living with their parents or on their own, will seek out their family's opinion. Recruiters unanimously note that it is at this point that they lose a good portion of their capable and talented Hispanic applicants.

VI. Family Recruitment. Most recruiters interviewed indicated that they rarely entered the home of an Anglo or Black prospective. The assumption is that most Anglo 18-year-old men are being encouraged by their family and peers to become more independent and self-sufficient, more mobile and alert for career possibilities. Blacks too are perceived as being encouraged to leave the household, but for different reasons: primarily economic marginality within the household. With the possible exception of the more independent Hispanics of New York City, most Hispanic parents continue to exercise a strong moral and emotional influence over their children, regardless of age. In fact, in some instances the moral suasion of the family increases as the children enter the nuclear-family-building years of their early twenties. Within the Hispanic households (particularly among the more traditional) the selection of a spouse is a seriously regarded family concern. It is expected that "courtships" will be long (normally a year or two) relative to the perceived courtships of Anglos,

though a formal engagement is often quite brief. The blessing of a young man's or woman's mother is viewed as crucial, especially if the new couple intends to live proximate to their respective families. More significant, however, is the importance attributed to the roles of grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren; frequent reference is made to the strong mutual expectation of, and dependence upon, a grandmother's time and guidance in the care of her child's children. It is during this period of the domestic cycle that the senior generation's responsibility and authority are again reinforced. Because the senior parents maintain such a vital role in the day-to-day functioning of the recently-formed nuclear households it is not surprising that they are able to translate this influence into the larger issues of residence locale, job changes, business ventures, etc., which the younger family must face. This means of suasion decreases as the families and individuals become more geographically and socially mobile, more urbanized, and generally more acculturated to mainstream American life.

Recruiters, particularly in south Texas, New Mexico, and Miami, stressed that very often fully half of their recruiting efforts are directed at the parents of an Hispanic individual. When they encounter reluctance on the part of the parents, it is usually due not to any clear anti-military sentiment, but rather to a fear that the son or daughter will become a different kind of person once exposed to a world of which the parents have only a limited, though frequently negative, perception and understanding.

Prospectives who were interviewed said that it was usually their mother who was opposed to their leaving. Mothers expressed a fear that the prejudices which are said to exist in the Anglo ("gringo") world may or may not be so bad, but that it is always easier to endure those kinds of problems as a family, or as a community.

Hispanic fathers seem more inclined to grant a son (though not a daughter) his desired freedom to make a choice about how to arrange his life. Generally

there is more anti-military sentiment among fathers because, it was explained by one prospective in San Antonio, they have not been impressed by what the military does for, or to, the Hispanic serviceman.

"Lots of guys my father knows went into the Marines or the Army or the Navy with big ideas of what they were going to get out of it. Then they come back, 'big-dogging' it for a while; they buy a car or a chopper. Then all of a sudden they're broke; or they find some gas station job; or they don't work at all, and they become borrachones (drunks). My father says it's better that you stay poor, than let somebody mess you over like those guys."

"And there's stories about drugs and sex diseases. My father says it's better that you stay around here and wait for some other work to break, than let some damned ~~man~~ mess you over like those guys."

The recruiter must clarify many misperceptions and quell some justifiable fears before the parents are swayed. Being ~~Hispanic~~, Spanish-speaking, and familiar with the ethos of the regional sub-cultures are clear advantages for the recruiter.

VII. Documentation. Most Puerto Ricans do not have problems with their United States residence status. South Americans, Dominicans, and Mexican-Americans not born in the United States must be able to present proper identification, Resident Alien documentation, or naturalization papers. Often these groups are also required to provide information on the resident status of immediate relatives within, or outside of, the United States.

Most Cubans are in the United States under the provisions of a Political Refugee Act, though most recruitable-aged Cubans were born in the United States and have acquired American citizenship. Cuban enlistees must provide information on the status of family members still residing in Cuba. Importantly, many Cubans are categorically excluded from Navy training programs which require high security clearance. Inadequate or improper documentation can form an obvious barrier to the recruitment of some Hispanics.

VIII. Decision to proceed to testing at AFEES. This decision, based on the previous stages of comprehension and evaluation, is usually assumed to be a logical next step in the enlistment process, and one which supposedly

entails no commitment to enlist. This assumption is not always justified, as will be discussed in the next section.

IX. AFEES. The Armed Forces Entrance Examination Station is the testing and processing locale at which the military qualifications of all service applicants are finally and officially determined. This examination center serves all of the military branches in common. Each recruiting district is serviced by at least one station, and by two in the more heavily populated cities. Prospective recruits are transported to the station on an appointed day. The processing requires between four and eight hours for each applicant. Early in the month the Navy may send 15 to 45 testees a day through the system. The number increases toward the end of the month as the District attempts to meet its recruitment goal.

An identical ASVAB examination is given to all concurrently-tested prospective military personnel. Each service, however, will weigh and interpret the scores differently, depending on their vocational and technical personnel needs. It is recognized that the Air Force and the Navy interpret the scores more rigorously than do the Marines and Army. The specific content of the ASVAB (like collegiate SAT or ACT examinations) changes from time to time, but the general form and quality of the exam is consistent. Prior to October of 1980, the ASVAB contained a section on spatial perception, but that section has been omitted (making the test considerably more difficult to pass or score highly on, observed some recruiters). The ASVAB now consists of timed tests of word knowledge, reading skill, and arithmetic skill. Raw scores are from 0 through 100. An individual's test results are known collectively as his AFQT. In order to enter the Navy an individual must meet the following AFQT requirements:

- AFQT minimum of 17 for high school graduate
- 31 for high school equivalency diploma
- 38 for non-high school graduate
- 49 for admission to advanced technical training
school (post-basic training)
- 60 for nuclear power and comparable fields

Based on the AFQT scores the individual is placed into one of four "mental categories":

Category 1: highest intellectual aptitude
AFQT 75-100

2: AFQT 50-74

3: AFQT 20-49

4: AFQT 1-19 usually not acceptable for the Navy

An individual not comfortable with the reading of English will most likely score poorly because the ASVAB is timed, emphasizes English language skills, and even the arithmetic sections are presented as "word problems." A failure on the ASVAB will not necessarily halt the rest of the AFEES processing, but eventually the individual will be advised of his poor score and apparently low potential, and it will be recommended that he try to retake the ASVAB at a later time.

The physical examination is quite thorough and includes a urinalysis to detect possible drug use. There are many applicant disqualifications on the bases of physical problems, but there are no indications of physical deficiencies peculiar to any of the Hispanic groups, beyond normal tooth and gum problems and nutritional deficiencies associated with poverty and sub-standard hygiene.

If the prospective recruit passes the physical examination, he is presented for his rating classification. The classification interview is conducted by a petty officer trained in personnel counseling and intimately familiar with the training and career organization of the Navy. It is the classifier's job to interpret the sectional scores of the prospective's ASVAB test and to explain to the individual exactly what kinds of training opportunities, if any, the Navy can offer someone of his ability. He also explains why the Navy can or cannot offer the prospective recruit a guaranteed school position in a particular rating for which the individual is qualified and which he wishes to pursue. The interview takes place privately in a small office. The classifier has at his side a video terminal connected to the Navy's classification computer in

Washington. The computer's records reflect the Navy's projected personnel needs over the next several years, but more importantly in this context, it indexes the often limited number of school positions open and available to enlisting recruits. There is a complex relationship between the timing of enlistment, the schedules of the technical schools, the locations of the training facilities, and the fundamental manpower needs of the Navy at any given time. In other words, even after the classifier has taken fifteen minutes to an hour explaining a range (though not necessarily the entire range) of rating possibilities, it may be that the most desired rating training will not be open and available to that applicant when he (or she) finishes the eight-week basic training.

Other options are offered and explored for availability. The applicant must then, during the interview, make a decision about his training. Importantly this decision is portrayed by the classifier, and understood by the applicant, to be a definitive choice, changed only with great difficulty. Technically the applicant has the privilege of delaying his decision on his training school, and likewise on the date that he wants to report to basic training. But his decision to delay this rating choice is conditioned by the degree to which he is willing to wait for a particular school opening, and by the urgency he feels for getting into basic training, and for getting on with a Naval career. Additionally, it must be remembered that the classifiers themselves also have monthly goals for enlistment contracts. Moreover, they must make efforts to "sell" certain quotas in all of the ratings within the Navy. Simply stated, the Navy needs to fill all of its job ratings and it is the collective task of classifiers across the country to accomplish this task. The higher the vocational aptitude of the applicant, the better his chances of being able to obtain the training of his choice, particularly if he chooses one of the more rigorous and demanding ratings. Similarly, a modest applicant aptitude and AFQT score means that the individual will have to settle for what the classifier tells him is available in the relevant time schedule. Poor aptitude scores usually mean that an individual

will not qualify for an advanced school and will summarily be classified in the seaman, fireman, or airman ratings, that is, as basic sailors.

If the issue of classification rating is settled between the applicant and the interviewer, the next issue is the date of departure for basic training camp. Again, the classifier puts pressure on the prospective recruit to take the oath of allegiance and leave for boot camp as soon as possible. Frequently, the classifier informs the applicant that if he does not make an immediate departure date commitment, then he, the classifier, will be unable to guarantee the school position. School guarantees are generally contingent upon departure commitments. For the applicant it seems that there is a real risk of jeopardizing what has seemed an already difficultly-arrived-at rating decision. It seems quite evident that the classifiers foster a strong sense of urgency (whether it is justified or not) and possible guilt (certainly not merited) for the applicant who is facing probably the most important decision he has yet to make in his life. Most applicants respond to the pressure and establish a departure date.

For Hispanics this classification experience seems to be the most traumatic and difficult of the recruitment process. The encounter is one of special personal importance, and the situation is one of accelerated emotional pressure. The classifier (usually Anglo) and the computer can be intimidating. The interview contains much unfamiliar jargon related to Navy lifestyle, schedules, and the all-important ratings. The near-demand to arrive at an extremely important decision and make an unequivocal commitment on the spot runs directly counter to the Hispanic tradition of seeking familial consultation on matters of such import. It seems that there is good basis to expect some severe miscomprehension by Hispanics at this juncture. The confusion may be enough to effectively discourage the Hispanic's continued processing.

There are additional components to the AFEEES processing. Individuals with any record of deviant, anti-social, or criminal behavior are cautioned by a

senior officer of the seriousness of any continued "immoral" actions. Certain individuals are given a waiver hearing by the NRD commanding officer. The waiver is required because the applicant has had some serious offenses and needs the special permission of the commanding officer as character witness. Not all waivers are granted, of course. The seriousness of the offense which necessitates a waiver varies from region to region. Unpaid traffic tickets are serious enough in some NRDs, but are more or less ignored in others. Some felonies might categorically exclude an applicant in one region, but may be waived in another.

For those individuals who complete their rating and departure decisions at AFEES it remains only for them to take the enlistment oath. This oath is usually administered to a group twice a day. It is quite normal for a sizeable group of Navy enlisted recruits to leave the same evening for one of the country's three Recruit Training Centers.

Some individuals simply decline to make a final rating decision or to declare a definite departure date. These people return home for further evaluation.

A larger portion of the AFEES applicants make tentative decisions, and then enter the Delayed Entry Program which requires a sworn enlistment and guarantees a school placement but which allows the recruit to return home to finish high school, complete some employment, or pursue some other activity for a limited period of time. Neither recruiters nor classifiers indicated that there was any significant incidence among those Hispanics who left AFEES unenlisted to fail to return for eventual enlistment. Recruiters usually pursue them until they do return.

One might speculate that the low rate of re-enlistment among Hispanics may be importantly linked to dissatisfaction with their original classification and rating.

Discussion

These observations suggest that remedies for the low rate of Hispanic recruitment may require more fundamental reforms than are available to the Navy. The most basic problem is probably the pre-enlistment educational preparation. Recruitment seems to be low in large measure because Hispanics fail somewhere, usually early on, in the recruitment process. With only one out of five successfully completing this process there is much room for improvement. But the improvement may require government aid to poor school districts, and help in improving acculturation rates which depend, at least in part, on the availability of career paths outside the Hispanic enclaves.

To improve recruitment rates the Navy is well advised to expand the current effort to utilize Hispanic recruiters, who will spend time with the families of potential recruits.

Turning to cultural barriers to recruitment, this report does not identify any substantial barriers. Of course, there is Puerto Rican nationalism, but it does not appear to be widespread among Puerto Ricans; nor do the memories of the Mexican wars emerge in this data. Inadequate language skills do appear to be a problem, however, and again it is one that a good school system would eradicate. It is clear that inadequate language skills are not a problem for the Cubans of Miami. This may reflect their socio-economic status which was relatively high before their migration to the U. S. and is consistent with high social mobility, and hence acculturation to the U. S. It is apparently the case that Hispanics of higher socio-economic level and greater acculturation have a much greater probability of success during the Navy recruiting process. However, it is exactly the same group that is more likely to go to college or seek a professional or business, rather than a Navy, career.

To improve re-enlistment rates there appears to be one reform that is available to the Navy. This is the improvement of the classification process. There is a strong indication in the present data that because of language

difficulties and a lack of acquaintance with the kinds of career opportunities available in the Navy, Hispanics may be particularly disadvantaged during the brief interview during which data about career paths are presented and they have to choose a particular Navy career in a few minutes. Improving this process may not be too expensive. It may require, for instance, the deployment of Spanish speaking "career consultants" within the Navy classification system, who will spend as much time as needed by a particular recruit to allow him to make an optimal choice of a Navy career. During the period of decision these consultants could also take the potential recruit to Navy installations where the actual jobs are performed. They could participate in discussions that the recruit has with family members. In fact, such a process may be desirable for all Navy recruits, and a cost-benefit analysis may well show that it is the best way to improve both recruitment and re-enlistment rates.

Appendix: Regional Variations in Recruitment Patterns

NRD San Antonio, Texas

The San Antonio NRD is comprised of south Texas, including the cities of Laredo, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Brownsville. Within the San Antonio NRD there are some important differentiations along rural and urban dimensions. Specifically, the rural Mexican-American population of the south Rio Grande valley demonstrates a value complex and economic situation which is significantly less acculturated than the more urbanized Mexican-American communities of Corpus Christi or San Antonio.

Traditional Mexican culture is more in evidence in the south valley. The obvious proximity to the border partially explains the tenacity of the Mexican lifestyle, and, as might be expected, there is evidence of a rather fluid and frequent movement of Mexican population across the border, both legally and illegally. Parents and children, siblings and cousins often reside on opposite sides of the river. Hence, there is a very vital network of interaction in which the Spanish-speaking Mexican culture remains dominant or pervasive. Among the Mexican-American recruiters and prospective recruits interviewed in Pharr and Harlingen, all were reared in traditional households, most speaking exclusively Spanish; and most expressed a consciousness of being Mexican, and of existing at the fringes of an observed, but reluctantly approached, white Anglo culture.

Economically, the valley towns of McAllen/Pharr and Harlingen have become like port cities. Much of the commerce in the towns is oriented toward the American tourist embarking for Mexico (motels, restaurants) and toward the Mexican middle-class consumer, who come to these border towns primarily to purchase appliances, electrical and electronic goods, automobile parts, some kinds of clothing, and some specialized medical care. The Mexican-American population which manages to find employment works in these service-related categories in the towns, or in the relatively marginal agricultural and ranching concerns in the surrounding rural areas.

Valley families are large (5 to 10 children) and tend to remain intact; separation or divorce are rare. Interviewees were consistent in noting that the male head of household (usually the father) is the central authority figure and disciplinarian, and usually the most "reasonable" family member when a young male broaches the subject of a possible enlistment in the military service. It is usually the mother who, though not necessarily always reluctant to entertain the enlistment idea, is described as being the most cautious and wary of the long-range implications of such a move on the part of her son. Almost invariably the south valley mother has the last word in the decision, regardless of the age or social status of the son. If she thinks the idea is ill-conceived, and especially if she is adamantly opposed to it, her wishes are usually respected, or the decision is at least postponed.

The Hispanic and the Anglo recruiters with whom the researcher spoke in the valley suggest, or say specifically, that they spend as much time recruiting the family as they do the prospective. This usually involves one or several visits to the household of the applicant, during which the recruiter, normally speaking in Spanish, attempts to persuade the parents of the advantages of the Navy for their son, and encourages them to allow their son to demonstrate talents which would probably never be called upon by a continued life in the valley.

The fundamental barrier to the recruitment of Hispanics in the south Rio Grande valley--and this is more so the case here than in any other Hispanic community surveyed in the study--is the difficulty in attracting militarily qualified Hispanics. In the Pharr station, for instance, which recruits slightly more Anglos than Hispanics per year, there is a monthly goal of nine recruit contracts. In order to meet an average of four Hispanics per month the recruiting station must interview and pre-test nearly 20 Hispanics. Of those, approximately 11 are sent to AFEES in San Antonio for the ASVAB and physical examinations. Of these 11, five or six are eliminated for physical or lack of aptitude reasons. Roughly, there is a Hispanic prospective/contract ratio of 5 to 1.

The word knowledge and reading skills of the valley Mexican-Americans are severely sub-standard, though the arithmetic skills are not quite as poor.

The fault for this poor academic performance, the recruiters attest, lies with the demoralizing state of the public school systems in the valley. There is ample objective evidence to document the depressed condition of the school facilities, but the recruiters are equally adamant about further attributing the decline in student performance to the recent emphasis on bi-lingual education. The Anglo recruiters particularly, but the Hispanic staff as well (though not with the same conviction), strongly felt that if the Mexican-American expects to participate in the opportunities and responsibilities of American life, then he must be able to speak the mainstream language:

"If they wanta make the most of American life, then they'd damn well better speak the lingo."

Referring to some experimental attempts at administering the ASVAB in Spanish, and the subsequent decision to not proceed with that program officially, an Anglo recruiter stated:

"Lucky that the Navy woke up from that one; it's an American military organization; so if you don't know how to speak American, then the poor bastard is going to get screwed. The way I see it, bi-lingualism does a disservice to the guy. Doesn't give him a proper chance."

An additional deterrent peculiar to the Mexican-American of the Southwest is a problem related to documentation. In order to qualify for military service the prospective must substantiate either his naturalized citizenship or resident alien status. The absence of this documentation, for whatever reason, is frequently enough to discourage an individual from pursuing the enlistment process.

It is, I think, an interesting point to note that the recruiters who were most critical of the Hispanics' supposed "laziness" and "lack of ambition" were the Hispanic petty officer recruiters:

"Mexicans are used to working half-days. They drop out after lunch. Most are doing nothing for themselves. They have no incentive to prosper, or for betterment. They're afraid of the unknown. They're conservative. They prefer the small town life."

"Now those who do go for the Navy usually do real well. No real problems in training or on a ship. It's the home discipline--you do what you're told."

"You know what gets 'em? It's the post training partying. The booze and the girls really shock the hell out of them..."

"But basically the Mexican has a 'don't care' attitude. He has to be pushed. People here are just lazy."

"And when they do try to break out of this place, they set their goals too high. The Mexican's home life is good, but it doesn't help him to prepare for realistic goals once he's out in the world."

So why does an Hispanic choose the Navy?

"Mainly I think it's because the image of the Navy has changed. There used to be a World War Two image of a tough, prejudiced, shit-work-for-niggers-and-spics outfit. But that has changed now, and most guys see that it offers a lot of opportunities, ones that can get you a good job when you get out."

"Macho is not such a big deal. The hardheaded ones who are looking to be macho usually can't get into the Navy, or Air Force, anyway; so they go Army. Army takes anybody. They go for the airborne, or infantry; tanks and rifles."

"Okay; the Army maybe looks good. Only two years. Close to home. Macho. But what do you get? Two years later and you're back in the same hole."

Corpus Christi is a significantly larger city, with an economy founded on a long-standing tourist trade, and on recently expanded energy interests. Unlike the towns of the Rio Grande valley, Corpus is a predominantly Anglo area. Moreover, the existing Hispanic population presents a more urbanized and acculturated profile. Most Hispanics who find work are employed, usually seasonally, in services affiliated with the tourist industry. It appears that only a limited portion of the Hispanic work force is involved in the oil industry. More are manual laborers in the burgeoning construction business. The fluidity of contact with traditional Mexican populations is much reduced in the metropolitan Corpus region. As a consequence, it might be argued, the Hispanic population

of this city could present a proportionately larger QMA market for the Navy. What makes the recruitment of these more "marketable" Hispanics difficult, however, is that, in the city, the Navy comes into more direct competition for the better prepared Mexican-American youth. Local business and regional colleges are offering these individuals training, scholarships, and salaries--close to home!--which the Navy is unable to match. Additionally, in the urban context there exist, more actively, special Hispanic interest organizations such as LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), the G.I. Forum, and various state and federal assistance programs which, to varying degrees, are able to intervene, positively or negatively, in the decision-making processes of young Hispanics.

Related to the schools, the Anglo recruiters note that in the last 15 to 20 years the Corpus schools have become pretty well integrated; so they are unable to see that there is any serious racial or ethnic conflict within the school system, or in the city as a whole. Said one recruiter, "It's the Mexican-Americans who are divisive and factionalized in Corpus. The real tension lies between their own factions."

The recruiting staff is extremely critical of the quality of the public schools; but they leave the impression that these schools are certainly superior to those of the south valley.

There is a Naval Air Station in Corpus Christi, so the Hispanics (and general populace) here have a more immediate source of contact to bolster the images which they form of the Navy.

Family life among Corpus Hispanics seems to be somewhat less traditional, as manifested in the reduced frequency with which recruiters feel they have to approach a Hispanic prospective's parents. English and Spanish are spoken in the home, and English seems to be the primary language for peer group interaction. Families are smaller than in the valley. Family social and economic conditions are higher and more stable.

As the nation's tenth largest city, San Antonio must be understood as a decidedly cosmopolitan center within which recently-traditional Hispanic communities are undergoing rapid acculturation change. It would be difficult to assess the full range and depth of the "sun-belt" economic expansion on the long-resident Mexican-American population in this city, but one thing which is quite clear is the high degree of exposure to mainstream American values. As in Albuquerque and Houston, a greater proportion of the Hispanic community is to be found in the middle-class and upper-class strata. It seems that the Hispanics in these classes are further accelerating the acculturation--in terms of values and aspirations, at least--of the still larger Hispanic lower class. The unemployment rate of Hispanics is lower than that of the valley. Hispanics work in commerce and in the construction trades (usually unionized) which are fostered by the commerce.

Unlike the Hispanic prospects of the south valley, those from San Antonio either have their high school diploma or the General Equivalency Diploma (GED). There continues to be a high rate of high school drop outs among the prospectives, but many recognize the need to have the diploma so they either have gained or are working toward a GED. There are distinct Mexican-American barrios in San Antonio, so there are schools which are not well integrated. Most of the public high schools, however, have a fair mix of comparably talented Anglos and Hispanics.

One interesting observation made by several San Antonio recruiters, and not made in the south valley or in Corpus Christi, is that many of the prospectives (Anglo, Black, or Hispanic) enter the recruiting station with some very definite and specific ideas of the kinds of training and experience they wish to receive from the Navy. If they fail to qualify for their preferred training, or are unable to get a school guarantee, they are very likely to postpone or put aside their enlistment plans. It seems, therefore, that in the larger urban setting the Hispanic knowledge of the Navy is more thorough, at least in terms of the mainstream-valued opportunities offered by the Navy. Because the recruiters are

specifically cautioned against trying to "pre-sell" any particular program to the prospective, there is a point in the process at which the potential recruit's interest can be frustrated. (This, of course, is not a phenomenon peculiar to Hispanics alone.)

While in San Antonio it is easier to enlist Hispanics who are in the third mental ability category (AFQTs between 20 and 49), it remains difficult to attract the technically capable middle- and upper-range Hispanic. Again, the category one and two individuals are going to college and into business. On the other hand, the category three Hispanics who do opt for the Navy are entering the more tedious and less rewarding ratings of seamen, firemen, airmen, ships-mates and yeomen.

Family life in San Antonio seems more frequently disrupted by separation and divorce. Recruiters spend less time with Hispanic parents; and prospectives usually seem more inclined and able to make their decisions independent of their parents. Often the applicants have spent time living in Dallas or Houston, working or just "hanging out." Should they enlist in the Navy, their departure from the family is much less traumatic than is the case in the valley. Recruiters note that city kids are much less disciplined and respectful of authority, that they have more trouble with the police, and often require command waivers for criminal records of petty offenses.

The socio-political identity of the Mexican-Americans in San Antonio exists on a much higher plane than in the valley, and is more frequently articulated. They have a strong sense of being Chicano, or more clearly Tejano, in order to distinguish themselves from the Hispanics of California, or of Florida.

In summary, it appears that one of the most significant by-products of San Antonio's recent economic expansion has been, for the Hispanic population, a rapidly expanding set of "rising expectations" based on the value system of Anglo culture. As yet, however, the social, political and economic wherewithal

to fulfill those expectations has still lagged behind. In this regard, prospective Hispanic Navy enlistees from San Antonio do think mainly in terms of career opportunities and education and a marketability after they leave the Navy; but few of these individuals have a clear conception of what is involved in the attainment of these goals. Moreover, few have a sound idea of the nature of Navy training or sea duty.

NRD Miami, Florida

The members of recruiting command staff in the Miami headquarters were particularly articulate and forceful in their description of Miami (Dade County) as a metropolitan area and a place to live. Miami, it is claimed, is truly an international port city; and in this regard different even from places like New York City. It is the principal port of entry for tourism and business from all of the Caribbean, Middle and South America. As such, its economic, social, and political bases are oriented toward the Spanish-speaking peoples of those regions. The majority of the Dade county population is now of Hispanic origin, and of these the largest portion is of Cuban descent. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and South Americans comprise the balance of the Hispanic populace.

The recruiting staff members almost unanimously feel that Miami has become a dangerous place to live. They point to media reports of a soaring crime rate, and readily recall several stories of indiscriminate violence in Dade county, perpetrated, they note, by Blacks and Hispanics. Blame is widely attributed to the "severe criminal and mentally deficient element" within the recent Mariel refugees from Cuba. The first groups of Cubans who fled from their island in the early 1960s, they offer, were acceptable:

"They were largely professional families (doctors, lawyers, businessmen, scholars) who knew the value of decent living and hard work. In the Mariel boatlift Castro was just ridding himself of the criminals, homosexuals, and retarded; and now America has to take care of them. And they are scaring the hell out of the people who have been living here for a long time, including the original Cubans."

"Plus there's the Blacks... Don't dare go into Liberty City alone!"

It is observed that the "white flight" from Miami is partially due to the resentment people feel because a person has to be bilingual to get any kind of a job in Miami. The NRD staff expressed the idea that the Hispanic populations in Miami, unlike the sub-cultural enclaves elsewhere (in Texas, for example), rather than becoming increasingly acculturated, remains isolated from the mainstream. There seems to be, they feel, little motivation toward assimilation.

This perceived non-acculturative trend, however, seems to run counter to what the recruiting research revealed about acculturation.

The Navy, in its recruitment of Hispanics deals primarily with Cuban descendants, a significant number of Colombians and Ecuadorans, and only marginally with Puerto Ricans, who seem not to seek out the Navy. Of the Cuban individuals recruited by the Navy in this NRD, approximately 40% were born in Cuba and 60% were born in the United States. Almost all of the Cuban-born individuals were reared, from a very early age, in the United States. We can expect them to be, therefore, a highly acculturated group. They are normally fully bilingual, speaking Spanish with their parents and grandparents, and exclusively English with their siblings and peers. It is a fair generalization to assert that these individuals are the products of families which have long valued and emphasized academic performance and professional pursuits. They are the sons (rarely daughters) of middle-class parents who have had the value orientation and the economic wherewithal to motivate their children toward productive achievement.

Within the parental generation there remains a strong cultural and political attachment to pre-Castro Cuba; there are several organizations actively seeking, or awaiting, a return to the homeland. Among the recruitable generation, however, the sentiment for Cuba is marginal or vicarious. The Cuban prospective recruits invariably declared themselves as being American, not Cuban. Many Cubans, in fact, do not identify themselves as such on the Navy applications.

The Navy recruiting problem, among the Miami Cubans, unlike the Texas Mexican-Americans, is not one of locating a sufficient number of militarily qualified individuals, for the traditional emphasis on education and achievement among Cubans is translated into relatively high AFQT scores. Rather, the problem is one of convincing these individuals that the Navy does offer some valuable alternatives to college or immediate business occupations.

What motivates Miami Cubans to consider the Navy? Generally it is the opportunity to gain some geographical mobility and independence from the home. There is less concern with the acquisition of a technical skill, per se, than with entering a high-visibility marketable profession. It is no coincidence that most Cuban prospects wish to enter some aspect of Navy aviation; they wish to be pilots when they leave. It seems that many of those Cubans who fail to qualify for their specified advanced school will simply not join the Navy at all. On the whole, Cuban prospective recruits who are turned away are disqualified due to problems of physical health, or to security clearance problems.

Cuban parental attitudes toward the military are mixed. Recruiters recalled incidents of parents being very enthusiastic about the Navy (aviation) because they imagined a potential contribution by their son to a future "move" to Cuba. As well, in most parts of Latin America the Navy is considered to be an upper-class service of prestige.

Other parents tend to be very anti-military. They do not want their sons placed in a position where they might be forced to fight against the Cuban homeland. Although the Navy may have a prestigious reputation in Latin America, in the United States the military service is viewed by the Cubans as being an under-class and unfavorable alternative. One recruiter recalled a couple of instances in which parents bought their sons a Trans Am automobile in order to entice him away from the Navy.

There are some relatively stringent security requirements for Cuban applicants. The prospective must declare in writing the frequency with which his

family communicates with friends or relatives who remain in Cuba. It is quite difficult for Cuban-Americans to gain the security clearance required for the highly advanced training programs such as those in the nuclear field.

In sum, recruitable Hispanics are mainly Cubans, though equally motivated and acculturated South Americans are becoming increasingly interested in Navy career training. The Cubans are almost invariably qualified for the Navy, but they also come from backgrounds which offer them a variety of other attractive career alternatives.

NRD Chicago (Glenview, Illinois)

Official estimates put the Hispanic population of Chicago at 460,000. Unofficial estimates, which include the illegal residents, approach one million. Of the official figures, approximately 70% are believed to be Mexican-American, 20% are Puerto Rican, and about 5% are Cubans. The Hispanic recruiters in the south side stations indicate that there is only limited interaction--social or political--between the Hispanic groups. In fact, there is usually more antagonism than cooperation; the strife is manifested in non-support of their respective public demonstrations, official back-stabbing, and occasional street violence between gangs. The Hispanic groups are residentially interspersed with the Black community, and there tends to be much Hispanic resentment of Black culture, and little effort to pursue common goals.

Everyone agrees that the Chicago public school system is in shambles, and those who are unable to consider attendance at a private or parochial school feel that it is not worth attending the public system. Rather, most people find it makes more sense to try to find some kind of a job. Among both the Puerto Rican and the Mexican-American groups there is a very low rate of high school graduation. Within the Hispanic applicants to the Navy only about thirty percent have a diploma or GED.

The Navy recruiting staff has relatively limited contact with the Puerto Rican community, and relatively few Puerto Ricans are recruited into the Navy. Consequently the recruiters confessed comparative ignorance of contemporary Puerto Rican images of military service. Still, since the Puerto Rican political leadership is so visible and vocal in Chicago, the interviewed recruiters were able to offer some generalizations about larger Puerto Rican concerns. Politically the Puerto Rican community is divided among those who approve of the current commonwealth status* of Puerto Rico vis-a-vis the United States, those who support statehood, and the "independentistas" who want that "colony" status changed. Those who seek independence tend to be more demonstrative in their anti-American position. Needless to say, the attacks by the more radical proponents of this view against American military installations and personnel are well known. It is not surprising, then, that while the fervor of this nationalistic sentiment may not influence all Puerto Rican youth, it may serve as a strong enough disincentive to limit the number of Puerto Rican people interested in investigating a Navy enlistment.

Most Hispanic prospects and recruits in Chicago are Mexican-American in origin. Within the history of the Mexican-Americans in the midwest there are two fundamental streams of migration that can be traced. The first movement included peasant agricultural workers fleeing the Mexican revolution in the early years of this century. They occupied the regions around the truck farming and vegetable packing regions of the midwest through the 1920s and 1930s, gradually moving into the cities of St. Louis, Kansas City and Chicago during and after the Second World War. From this first stream of migrants branched a second, comprised of people who did most of the manual labor in the construction and maintenance of the midwest's railroad system. This second group became a more urbanized and acculturated group, some of its members gradually working

*In the 1966 plebiscite most votes were in favor of this solution.

their way into the industrial mills and manufacturing plants of Gary, Hammond, and Detroit.

The agricultural workers tended to be itinerant, alienated, isolated, and excluded from mainstream American culture. The urban industrial workers became more acculturated. They were a more stable population base; their economic status became more assured as they entered industrial worker's unions. From this group emerged a more sophisticated orientation toward blue collar and white collar America. From the urban industrial Hispanics there was a higher military participation in World War Two and the Korean War, and these experiences had significant acculturating effects.

Although the Mexican migration continues today, the old country connections are more direct to those Mexican-Americans still occupied in work on the railroads and in agriculture. Railroad track improvements in the midwest are still done largely by a Mexican-American work force. The large vegetable packing plants in the midwest also are manned by a significant Mexican-American work force.

The urban Mexican-Americans, however, are more distant from their traditional origins, and in many ways share the same kinds of American expectations and aspirations as the Hispanics in San Antonio. The fundamental difference, however, is that the social and economic atmosphere of Chicago does not provide opportunities which can be utilized by the lower class Hispanic community.

Again, the fundamental barrier to Hispanic recruitment in Chicago is the depressed quality of educational opportunities. Language is less of a problem in Chicago. The main reason that anybody here considers the Navy is the pursuit of a job, in the short run, and the possibility of a career in the future.

NRD New York City

Hispanic life in New York City is extraordinarily complex and not easily amenable to generalizations. Like Miami, the flow of Hispanics into the city

is recent and continues at an ever-increasing rate. Unlike Miami, the Hispanic sub-groups in New York City are more evenly interspersed: Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and South Americans generally occupy neighborhoods commonly. Like the Hispanics of Chicago, New York Hispanics endure marginal educational systems. Unlike Chicago, however, poor English language proficiency is the main factor which keeps the New York Hispanic out of the Navy.

Among Dominican applicants there are frequent problems with residence and citizenship documentation. Among Puerto Ricans there are many prospectives who have high school diplomas, but they were attained at Spanish-speaking schools.

Recruiters have difficulties gaining access to the public school systems for presentations or ASVAB testing, so they must depend upon referrals and walk-ins. Regarding the ASVAB scores one Anglo recruiter insightfully noted:

"The real problem with the test performances of Hispanics is with the test itself. ASVAB is supposed to measure, reflect and evaluate the ability of an individual to learn, and not necessarily what he knows. ASVAB still concentrates on knowledge, and that ends up excluding some bright people who don't happen to know the tested body of information.

"I get lots of EST and ASVAB scores in the twenties, but we can't put these people in the Navy. I put more people into the Army, next door, than in the Navy. I send all our cat-4s over to the Army."

Among the New York Hispanic applicants interviewed there is a recurring expression of a need to get out of the city, to get away from home and the family. As in Chicago, there is a much higher rate of marital dissolution among Hispanics. Parents seem to make fewer demands on their children; and the disciplinary code is not as rigid as in traditional Hispanic homes. Some individuals mentioned that New York is "too constraining of a place"; they feel that despite the size and complexity of the city, their physical and social mobility are restricted by expense, fear of crime, and fear of the Anglo systems, particularly the employment and financial systems.

Other individuals are quite frank in expressing a need to get out of the city in order to avoid further problems with the law or with more insidious

criminal elements. A recruiter in the South Bronx:

"This city--most big cities--is a different social game. Here you experience the full range of personality types and behavioral problems. In the midwest a parking ticket is a big deal, and if it's not paid the NRD commander just might deny you a waiver. Here in New York City a parking ticket is peanuts. Here we're talking about major felonies: car thefts, drugs... Drugs are a way of life around here. We don't ask if a guy has smoked some dope or tooted some coke. We ask when was the last time he smoked. Recent drug users--and they usually end up being pretty honest about it when the Skipper scares them with perjury charges--have to get a waiver from the commanding officer and five letters of reference."

Several applicants implied that they feel not so much drawn to the Navy as pushed out of the city. The Navy is simply the most viable escape route.

In New York, more than any other NRD, there is a very high incidence of women seeking naval training and careers. Requirements are quite demanding for women. They must have a high school diploma, and must have an AFQT of 49--that is they must be school-qualified. The recruiters have no trouble in attracting qualified women. The problem in this case is that the Navy does not have enough positions for all of the women who wish to enlist. Most women must take the Delayed Entry Program, and normally endure waits of from three to twelve months.

NRD Albuquerque, New Mexico

The Albuquerque NRD comprises an area which includes all of New Mexico, the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles, and El Paso, Texas. The Hispanic recruits in this District represent about 15 percent of the total contracts. The Mexican-American population is concentrated in northern New Mexico and in the El Paso area. But within these geographical areas there are some relevant social and historical distinctions among the Hispanics. The Hispanos of the north have long distinguished themselves from the Mexican-Americans; they have traditionally claimed a purer, Iberian Spanish descendency, and have disclaimed a Mexican Indian background. Socially and geographically they have largely succeeded in remaining isolated in the mountain villages of the Sangre de Cristo range. They are primarily agriculturalists and small-scale ranchers, and they live

economically and socially non-mainstream lives. They apparently have very limited exposure to the Navy, and those who decide to attempt military service usually choose the Army or the Marines.

The Mexican-Americans of the northern Española valley represent the pre-dominant cultural grouping in the area. The economy is based on small-scale agriculture, work in forestry, and on maintenance/laborer jobs at the scientific laboratories in Los Alamos. The educational system is sub-standard; there is a high rate of Hispanic drop outs; and relatively few Hispanics are able to attend colleges. Unemployment in the valley is about 12 percent. Nevertheless, the Hispanics of the Española valley are in fairly regular and full contact with the values of mainstream America. The diversity, if not the intensity, of the valley economy has increased steadily in the last fifteen years; and easy contact with the life in Los Alamos, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque contributes to a rapid value acculturation, even if there remains a major gap in economic and political power.

In the cities of Santa Fe and Albuquerque the educational situation changes dramatically, and the overall economic condition of Hispanics improves significantly. The general residential patterns of these cities is integrated; hence the school systems manifest a representative mix of Anglo and Hispanic students. There are few private or parochial schools, and the public systems seem quite good. For the most part, high school test scores of the Hispanics are comparable to the scores of the Anglo population.

In El Paso the situation again changes dramatically. There exist clearer demarcations in Anglo and Hispanic residence patterns; the school systems are less effectively integrated; and the academic scores of Hispanics are well below those of the Anglos.

The NRD has little difficulty in meeting its Hispanic goals in the northern part of the District. But increasingly the Navy must vie for the more talented Hispanics with the universities and businesses which offer scholarships and

and affirmative action programs.

In comparing the differences in Hispanic groupings, a Corpus Christi recruiter possibly shed some light on Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans:

"A Puerto Rican family will put all of its resources behind the achievements of one individual, as a representative of the family. The Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, will try to spread its resources evenly among all its members so that all might taste progress."

One additional, and interesting, element related to the recruitment of Hispanics in the Albuquerque NRD is the incidence of Native American applicants and enlistees who have Hispanic surnames. For a variety of cultural and historical reasons, a large portion of the Pueblo Indian population in the northern Rio Grande Valley now carry Spanish or Mexican surnames; this phenomenon occurs less frequently among the Hopis and Navajos. NRD command staff in Albuquerque noted that it is not uncommon to find an erroneous ethnic classification due to this surname ambiguity. In practical terms this might suggest that the actual rate of Hispanic recruiting may be lower than estimated, but probably only slightly.

NRD San Diego, NRD Los Angeles

Despite the obvious interface between one of California's largest Hispanic communities and the nation's largest complex of Naval stations, the Hispanic image of the Navy seems very mis-informed and pessimistic. It is not clear what factors are involved in the barriers which diminish effective communication between the Navy and the Hispanic population, but it is certainly interesting that most of the Hispanic enlistments in the San Diego NRD are contracted in the Tucson, Arizona region. The ever-increasing immigration of Mexicans to the San Diego region probably influences the tenacity of traditional Mexican culture and language, and therefore might be viewed as a constraint on acculturation to mainstream North American systems, including the Navy.

The dimensions and long presence of the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles provides for the relatively easy attainment of Hispanic recruiting

goals within this NRD. It seems that here increased emphasis is being placed on the prospecting of Hispanic candidates for Navy officer commissions. One particularly interesting and provocative project now underway in the Los Angeles NRD is the development and commissioning of an all-Hispanic recruit company. The evolution of this personnel experiment should provide some very rich opportunities for the observation and analysis of Hispanic cultural variables by social scientists and Navy personnel administrators alike.

T.R. #4 - Distribution List

List 1 - Mandatory

Defense Tech. Information Center
ATTN: DTIC DDA-2
Selection & Preliminary Cat. Sec.
Cameron Station
Alexandria, VA 22314

Library of Congress
Science & Technology Div.
Washington, DC 20540

Office of Naval Research
Code 452
800 N. Quincy St.
Arlington, VA 22217

Naval Research Laboratory
Code 2627
Washington, DC 20375

Office of Naval Research
Director, Technology Programs
Code 200
800 N. Quincy St.
Arlington, VA 22217

Office of Naval Research
Code 450
800 N. Quincy St.
Arlington, VA 22217

Office of Naval Research
Code 458
800 N. Quincy St.
Arlington, VA 22217

Office of Naval Research
Code 455
800 N. Quincy St.
Arlington, VA 22217

List 2 - ONR Field

ONR Western Regional Office
1030 E. Green St.
Pasadena, CA 91106

Psychologist
ONR Western Regional Office
1030 E. Green St.
Pasadena, CA 91106

ONR Regional Office
536 S. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60605

ONR Field (Cont'd)

Psychologist
ONR Eastern/Central Regional Office
Bldg. 114, Sec. D
666 Summer St.
Boston, MA 02210

ONR Eastern/Central Regional Office
Bldg. 114, Sec. D
666 Summer St.
Boston, MA 02210

List 8 - Navy Misc.

Naval Military Personnel Command
HRM Department (NMPC-6)
Washington, DC 20350

Naval Training Analysis & Eval. Group
Orlando, FL 32813

Commanding Officer
ATTN: TIC, Bldg. 2068
Naval Training Equipment Center
Orlando, FL 32813

Chief of Naval Educ. & Training (N-5)
Dir., Research Develop., Test & Eval.
Naval Air Station
Pensacola, FL 32508

Chief of Naval Technical Training
ATTN: Dr. Norman Kerr, Code 017
NAS Memphis (75)
Millington, TN 38054

Navy Recruiting Command
Head, Research & Analysis Branch
Code 434, Room 8001
801 N. Randolph St.
Arlington, VA 22203

Commanding Officer
USS Carl Vinson (CVN-70)
Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co.
Newport News, VA 23607

List 15 - Current Contractors

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University of Houston
Department of Psychology
Houston, TX 77004

Current Contractors (Cont'd)

Dr. Arthur Blaiwes
Human Factors Lab., Code N-71
Naval Training Equipment Center
Orlando, FL 32813

Dr. Joseph V. Brady
The Johns Hopkins University
School of Medicine
Div. of Behavioral Biology
Baltimore, MD 21205

Dr. Stuart W. Cook
Institute of Behavioral Science #6
University of Colorado
Box 482
Boulder, CO 80309

Dr. L. L. Cummings
Kellogg Graduate School of Management
Northwestern University
Nathaniel Leverone Hall
Evanston, IL 60201

Dr. Henry Emurian
The Johns Hopkins University
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Baltimore, MD 21205

Dr. John P. French, Jr.
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Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Dr. Paul S. Goodman
Graduate School of Industrial Admin.
Carnegie-Mellon University
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Navy Recruiting Districts

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Leo W. Obrien Fed. Bldg.
Clinton Ave. & N. Pearl
Albany, NY 12207

CO, Navy Recruiting District
P.O. Box 8667
5301 Central Ave., N.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87108

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Suite C
612 Tinker St.
Marietta, GA 30060

Navy Recruiting Districts (Cont'd)

CO, Navy Recruiting District
470 Atlantic Ave.
Boston, MA 02210

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg.
111 W. Huron St.
Buffalo, NY 14202

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Interport III Plaza
16101 Snow Rd.
Brookpark, OH 44142

CO, Navy Recruiting District
P.O. Box 2711
Columbia, SC 29202

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg., Room 609
200 N. High St.
Columbus, OH 43215

CO, Navy Recruiting District
918 S. Ervay
Dallas, TX 75202

CO, Navy Recruiting District
New Custom House
19th & California Sts.
Denver, CO 80202

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Bldg. 41
Naval Air Station
Glenview, IL 60026

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Building
3rd & Walnuts Sts.
Harrisburg, PA 17108

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Melrose Bldg.
1121 Walker St., 9th Fl.
Houston, TX 77002

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg.
575 N. Pennsylvania St.
Indianapolis, IN 46204

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Pratt Pinmace Bldg.
3974 Woodcock Dr.
Jacksonville, FL 32207

Navy Recruiting Districts (Cont'd)

CO, Navy Recruiting District
2420 Broadway
Kansas City, MO 64108

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Combined Communication
301 Center St.
Little Rock, AR 72201

CO, Navy Recruiting District
4727 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90010

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg.
600 Federal Pl.
Louisville, KY 40202

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Sterick Bldg., 12th Flr.
8 N. 3rd St.
Memphis TN 38103

CO, Navy Recruiting District
5901 SW 74th St.
Miami, FL 33143

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Tremonti Bldg., 5th Flr.
426 Clinton St.
Detroit MI 48226

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Loyalty Bldg.
611 N. Broadway
Milwaukee WI 53202

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Office Bldg.
2nd & Wash. Aves. S.
Minneapolis, MN 55401

CO, Navy Recruiting District
IBM Bldg.
4525 Executive Park Dr.
Montgomery, AL 36116

CO, Navy Recruiting District
West End Bldg.
1808 W. End Ave.
Nashville, TN 37203

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Parkway Towers, Bldg. A
485 U.S. Route #1
Iselin, NJ 08830

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Bldg. 602
NAVSUPPACT East Bank
New Orleans, LA 70146

CO, Navy Recruiting District
1975 Hempstead Tpke.
East Meadow LI, NY 11554

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Overland Wolf
6910 Pacific St.
Omaha, NE 68106

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg.
128 N. Broad St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg.
1000 Liberty Ave.
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg., SU 576
1220 SW Third Ave.
Portland, OR 97204

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Pinewood Bldg
1001 Navaho Dr.
Raleigh, NC 27609

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Parham Park Off. Envirt.
8545 Mayland Dr.
Richmond, VA 23229

CO, Navy Recruiting District
102 W. Rector St.
San Antonio, TX 78216

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Naval Training Center
San Diego, CA 92133-6800

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Federal Bldg.
1515 Clay St.
Oakland, CA 94612

CO, Navy Recruiting District
300 - 120th Ave. N.E.
Suite 200, Bldg. 1
Bellevue, WA 98005

Navy Recruiting Districts (Cont'd)

CO, Navy Recruiting District
210 N. Tucker Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63101

CO, Navy Recruiting District
Presidential Bldg. Rm. 301
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Capt. A. T. Eyler
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